

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAM-01 AID-05 OMB-01 DLOS-04 EB-07 /083 W

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R 030735Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2656

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 3049

E. O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US, RP

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: INFORMATION ON THE PHILIPPINES

REF: (A) STATE 037591; (B) STATE 037592; (C) MANILA 2590;

(D) MANILA 2586; (E) MANILA 6926 OF MAY 16, 1975.

BEGIN SUMMARY

THOUGH SENSITIVE TO HEIGHTENED USG CONCERN ABOUT PERFORMANCE IN MULTILATERAL FORA, GOP WILL PERSIST IN ITS EFFORT TO ESTABLISH ITS THIRD WORLD IDENTITY AND DEMONSTRATE ITS INDEPENDENCE FROM US. IMMINENT NEGOTIATIONS ON BASES AND ECONOMIC MATTERS INCLINE GOP TO VIEW THAT BILATERAL ISSUES ARE ESSENCE OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH US, A PRIORITY TO WHICH US SHOULD BE SENSITIVE UNTIL NEGOTIATIONS SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED. AS STRONG SUPPORTER OF EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, HOWEVER, GOP USUALLY ATTEMPTS EXERCISE MODERATING INFLUENCE IN MULTILATERAL FORA BUT NOT IF IT BELIEVES THIS WILL UNDULY ANTAGONIZE ARAB STATES (ON WHICH IT IS DEPENDENT FOR OIL) OR THIRD WORLD MILITANTS. ON THOSE ISSUES BEARING DIRECTLY ON US SOVEREIGNTY (PUERTO RICO, CANAL ZONE, ETC.), GOP WILL PROBABLY TRY VOTE WITH US. SHOULD THIRD WORLD PRESSURES MOUNT, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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GOP MIGHT CHOOSE TO ABSTAIN HOPING WE WILL FORGIVE

AND FORGET IF IT IS FORTHCOMING IN BILATERAL AREA.
AFTER RECENT ASEAN SUMMIT, GOP IS INCREASINGLY UNLIKELY
TO ADOPT POSITIONS AT VARIANCE WITH ASEAN CONSENSUS.
GIVEN MODERATE SENTIMENTS OF ASEAN LEADERSHIP (ME ISSUES
EXCEPTED) THIS SHOULD BENEFIT US INTERESTS. GOP
INVARIABLY SEEKS OUR SUPPORT ON CANDIDACIES BUT HAS
NOT GONE OUT OF ITS WAY TO ELICIT OUR VIEWS ON SUBSTAN-
TIVE ISSUES. WHEN OUR POSITIONS COINCIDE (WHICH IS
OFTEN) THIS IS BECAUSE GOP FEELS SUCH A POSITION IS
IN ITS NATIONAL INTEREST.
END SUMMARY

1. ANALYSIS OF GOP ATTITUDES PRIOR TO UNGA SPECIAL
SEVENTH SESSION PROVIDED REFTEL E STILL OBTAINS. MORE
RECENT ASSESSMENT OF GOP PERFORMANCE IN INTERNATIONAL
FORA (GROUP OF 77 AND IMF INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
MEETING IN JAMAICA) WAS PROVIDED IN REFTELS C AND D.
FOLLOWING COMMENTS KEYED TO QUESTIONS POSED PARA 7
REFTEL A.

2. A. GOP'S PRIMARY MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES
IN 1976: GOP HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO SEEK
SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT IT TRIED FOR LAST YEAR OR MEMBER-
SHIP IN ECOSOC. TECHNICAL LEVEL IN DFA BELIEVES ECOSOC
MEMBERSHIP WOULD YIELD MORE SUBSTANTIAL DIVIDENDS, BUT
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP APPEARS BEGUILED BY PROSPECT OF
SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT CLIMAXING YEAR OF SUCCESSFUL MULTI-
LATERAL DIPLOMACY (ASEAN SUMMIT, GROUP OF 77, UNCTAD,
IMF, ETC.), GOP WILL AGAIN PUSH FOR UN CHARTER REFORM,
WHICH IS PET PROJECT OF FOREIGN SECRETARY ROMULO. AS
YET, GOP HAS NOT REQUESTED OUR SUPPORT FOR SPECIFIC
CANDIDATES FOR POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS
ALTHOUGH WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED PRIVATELY SECRETARY
OF AGRICULTURE TANCO WISHES TO SUCCEED JOHN HANNAH AT THE FAO.
ONLY MULTILATERAL "ORGANIZATION" GOP DESIRES TO JOIN
AT THIS JUNCTURE APPEARS TO BE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE.
GOP, WHICH HAD "GUEST" STATUS IN LIMA IN 1975, PROBABLY
BELIEVES ITS POSSIBILITIES FOR OBSERVER, IF NOT MEMBER,
STATUS AT NAC HAVE BEEN ENHANCED BY SUCCESSFUL HOSTING
OF GROUP OF 77 IN MANILA. ASIDE FROM CHARTER REFORM,
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WE ARE AWARE OF NO NEW INITIATIVE GOP WILL TAKE IN UP-
COMING MULTILATERAL MEETINGS. PRESIDENT MARCOS, OF
COURSE, WILL PRESENT "MANILA DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME
OF ACTION" AT UNCTAD MEETING IN NAIROBI IN MAY AND
CONCEIVABLY COULD MAKE SOME GESTURE RZLINISCENT OF
STILLBORN THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM (TWES) AND
WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WOTRADO) AT GROUP OF 77.
IT IS ALSO PROBABLE GOP WILL ATTEMPT TO TAKE SOME

INITIATIVE AT MANILA IMF CONFERENCE IN OCTOBER
ALTHOUGH IT WILL HAVE ITS HANDS FULL MERELY HOSTING
SESSION. AS REFTTEL B SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, GOP POSTURE
AT IMF HAS BEEN MODERATE.

2.B. INFLUENCE ON GOP MULTILATERAL POLICY MAKING:
WITH SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF FEBRUARY ASEAN SUMMIT,
WE EXPECT GOP AND ITS ASEAN PARTNER WILL TRY HARDER
TO MAINTAIN REGIONAL SOLIDARITY IN MULTILATERAL FORA.
GIVEN MODERATE INCLINATIONS OF ASEAN LEADER, INDONESIA,
THIS SHOULD HAVE BENEFICIAL EFFECT AS FAR AS USG
INTERESTS CONCERNED. ISLAMIC ORIENTATION OF INDONESIA
AND MALAYSIA, HOWEVER, COUPLED WITH MUSLIM DISSIDENCE
AND GOP DEPENDENCE ON ARAB OIL, MAKE IT UNLIKELY GOP
WILL BE HELPFUL TO US ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES. IN
ADDITION TO ASEAN CONSIDERATION, GOP'S ANXIETY TO
KEEP ITS NON-ALIGNED NOSE CLEAN INCLINES IT TO OPT
FOR ABSTENTION WHEN THINGS GET TOUGH.

2.C. HOW GOP DELEGATIONS ARE INSTRUCTED: GOP'S
NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE IS TO WAIT FOR THE
ELEVENTH HOUR OR EVEN LATER BEFORE DECIDING WHAT
POSITION TO ADOPT ON AN ISSUE. AS A RULE, GOP FULLY
INSTRUCTS ITS DELEGATIONS ALTHOUGH HEADS OF DELEGATIONS
OFTEN HAVE CONSIDERABLE DISCRETION. IN CASE OF
UNGA, FOREIGN SECRETARY ROMULO, CHIEF OF INTER-
NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION, ETC., REMOVE
TO NEW YORK WHERE ROMULO CALLS THE SHOTS. WHEN
PRESSURE ON CERTAIN KEY ISSUES RISES, HE REFERS
THE MATTER TO THE PRESIDENT. AS USMISSION MAY
HAVE EXPERIENCED, PHILIPPINE DELEGATION IN NEW
YORK SOMETIMES CONTENTS IT IS INSTRUCTED ON CERTAIN

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

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SAM-01 AID-05 OMB-01 DLOS-04 EB-07 /083 W

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POINTS AND THAT ONLY MANILA CAN ORDER CHANGES IN INSTRUCTION. AT SAME TIME, DFA HERE IS CLAIMING ONLY GENERAL ROMULO IN NEW YORK CAN DECIDE ON ISSUE. THIS IS A CONVEINENT DODGE FOR GOP BUT MAKES THINGS MORE DIFFICULT HERE SINCE EMBASSY PERFORCE MUST ESCALATE MATTERS TO PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL. EFFECTIVENESS OF REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTI-LATERAL ISSUES AT PRESIDENTIAL LEVEL WILL BE IN INVERSE PROPORTION TO THEIR FREQUENCY.

2.D. POWER OF GOP REPRESENTATIVES IN VARIOUS FORA:
AS NOTED ABOVE, ROMULO SPENDS CONSIDERABLE TIME AT UNGA AND PERM REP REYES DOES NOT APPEAR TO MAKE MAJOR DECISIONS. AMBASSADOR VEGA WHO HEADS GOP MTN TEAM IN GENEVA HAS CERTAIN FLEXIBILITY AS DOES AMBASSADOR BRILLIANTE. BOTH INCLINED TO THIRD WORLDER VIEWS BUT ARE RESPONSIVE TO HARD HEADED TECHNOCRATS WHO MANAGE GOP ECONOMIC AND TRADE POLICY. NO PHILIPPINE REPRESENTATIVE ABROAD, HOWEVER, IS STRONG ENOUGH IN HIS OWN RIGHT THAT GOP FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO CONTROL OR INSTRUCT HIM.

2.E. GOP RECEPTIVITY TO REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTI-LATERAL ISSUES: WHILE GOP APPRECIATES EMPHASIS USG
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IS PLACING ON MULTILATERAL COMPONENT IN US/GOP RELATIONS,
IT FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO COMPREHEND EXTENT

TO WHICH WE PLACE IMPORTANCE ON VOTING PERFORMANCE IN MULTILATERAL FORA PRECISELY BECAUSE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS SO UNIQUE. WE SUSPECT THIS IS EVEN MORE THE CASE IN CURRENT YEAR WHEN WE ARE RENEGOTIATING OUR BASES AND ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, EMBASSY WILL IMPRESS ON GOP EXACTLY WHY WE ARE CONCERNED WITH OTHER NATIONS', PARTICULARLY OUR ALLIES', VOTING PERFORMANCE IN MULTILATERAL FORA. GOP REALIZES OUR NEW MULTILATERAL APPROACH IS IN PART MOTIVATED BY OUR DESIRE TO INSURE CONTINUED

VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE GOP'S REACTIONS TO SECRETARY'S SPEECH AT SEVENTH SS (REPORTED MANILA 12842) AS WELL AS HIS MILWAUKEE SPEECH WERE POSITIVE. AS FOUNDING MEMBER OF UN WHICH PRIDES ITSELF ON ITS UN EXPERTISE, GOP HAS SOLICITED USG SUPPORT PRIMARILY FOR CANDIDACIES AND USUALLY HAS NOT SOUGHT OUT OUR VIEWS ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES.

3. GOP POSITION ON SPECIFIC ISSUES: CURSORY REVIEW OF ISSUES PRESENTED IN PARA 2(A) AND (B) IN REFTEL B SUGGESTS GOP MIGHT SUPPORT US ON QUESTIONS TOUCHING DIRECTLY ON US SOVEREIGNTY (PANAMA CANAL ZONE, PUERTO RICO, ETC.) BUT IF THIS MEANS RISKING THEIR THIRD WORLD CREDIBILITY, GOP MAY ABSTAIN IN HOPE FORTHCOMING STANCE IN BILATERAL AFFAIRS MIGHT CAUSE US TO FORGIVE AND FORGET. GOP, AT HIGHEST LEVELS, HAS MADE CLEAR IT OPPOSES EFFORT TO EXPEL ISRAEL FROM UN OR REJECT ITS CREDENTIALS DESPITE "INTENSE PRESSURE" FROM ARABS. GOP WELCOMED PLO MEMBERSHIP IN GROUP OF 77 BUT EXERCISED MODERATING INFLUENCE TO PREVENT GROUP OF 77 ADOPTING SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL, E.G., UN EXPULSION OR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. GOP IS CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPONENT OF BOTH KOREAS BEING ADMITTED TO UN. IT HAS GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH ROK BUT ASEAN CONSENSUS ON QUESTION WILL PREVAIL AS FAR AS GOP VOTE IS CONCERNED. ON ISSUES INVOLVING PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT, GOP AS A MORE ADVANCED LDC WITH HISTORIC TIES TO US, HAS GENERALLY ACTED PRUDENTLY. WE HAVE SERIOUS UNRESOLVED DIFFERENCES ON LOS ISSUES WHICH STEM FROM GOP ESPOUSAL OF ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE. ON ISSUES OF TERRORISM AND TORTURE, GOP POSITION NOT AT VARIANCE WITH OUR OWN. GOP POSITION ON SOUTH AFRICAN AND RELATED ISSUES, E.G., NAMIBIA, APARTHEID, RIGID WITH GOP IN FOREFRONT OF THOSE OPPOSING SA WHENEVER POSSIBLE.

4. RECIPROCITY: WHILE WE EXPECT GOP WOULD ATTEMPT TO BE RESPONSIVE ON ISSUES WHICH US DEFINES AS "IMPORTANT", THIS IS A TWO WAY STREET. DEGREE TO WHICH GOP WILL ATTEMPT TO BE RESPONSIVE WILL RELATE TO DEGREE TO WHICH WE ARE WILLING TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORT TO RESPOND TO THEIR INTERESTS. ELEMENT OF RECIPROCITY PARTICULARLY NECESSARY TO KEEP IN MIND WHEN WE SEEK TO PRESS GOP ON ISSUES WHICH WE MAY DEFINE AS IMPORTANT BUT WHICH MAY NOT BE SO OBVIOUSLY DISCERNIBLE TO GOP AS OF DIRECT NATIONAL INTEREST TO

U.S. IN ADDITION TO MORE ENERGETIC SUPPORT OF
PHILIPPINE CANDIDATES FOR VARIOUS UN POSITIONS, US
COULD BE ASKED TO SUPPORT GOP ON SUCH THORNY BUT
"IMPORTANT" PHILIPPINE ISSUES AS LOS, CHARTER REFORM,
ETC.

5. EMBASSY'S MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER IS
FRAZIER MEADE.
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Message Attributes

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